Message Text

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2874
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0298

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
SUBJ: MBFR: SUMMARY OF INFORMAL SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES OF MAY 30, 1978

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN THE MAY 30, 1978 INFORMAL SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS, THE ALLIES WERE REPRESENTTED BY THE NETHERLANDS, UK, AND US REPS, AND THE EAST BY SOVIET REPS TARASOV AND SHUSTOV, GDR REP OESER AND CZECHOSLOVAK REP KEBLUSEK. SOVIET REP TARASOV WHO LOOKED FIT, SAID HE HAD RETURNED FROM MOSCOW MAY 27. MILITARY ADVISERS WERE ALSO PRESENT.

2. DURING THE SESSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASKED
SEVERAL CRITICAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT ASPECT OF THE WESTERN
APRIL 19 INITIATIVE WHICH DEALS WITH PHASE I COMMITMENTS BY
WESTERN EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CANADA CONCERNING
THEIR PHASE II REDUCTIONS. THEY MADE THE POINT INTER ALIA
THAT THE WEST'S PROPOSED COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS SHOULD
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NOT BE REPRESENTED AS A MOVE TOWARDS THE EASTERN POSITION BECAUSE THE EAST HAD ASKED FOR INDIVIDUAL REDUCTION COMMITMENTS.

EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ATTACKED THE WESTERN POSITION ON DATA, STATING THAT THE WEST SHOULD IN EQUITY CARRY OUT REALLOCATION OF DISPUTED FORCE TYPES IN ITS FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND SHOULD ALSO PRESENT ITS OWN DATA ON EASTERN FORCES IF IT WERE REALLY INTERESTED IN UNCOVERING THE

SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND EASTERN DATA ON WARSAW PACT MANPOWER. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ALSO ANSWERED SOME EARLIER WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA, INCLUDING THE THUS FAR UNANSWERED QUESTIONS ON POLISH CONSCRIPT MEMBERS OF THE UNITS OF TERRITORIAL DEFENSE. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES COMPLAINED THAT WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA WERE GRADUALLY MOVING INTO THE FORBIDDEN AREA OF QUESTIONS ON STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION, AND ASKED SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WESTERN FORCES.

- 3. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES PRESENTED WESTERN CASE FOR THE WESTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTION OF SELECTED, DIFFERENT ARMAMENTS. THEY ANSWERED THE EASTERN QUESTIONS ON PHASE II COMMITMENTS AND ASKED SEVERAL MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA.
- 4. CZECHOSLOVAK REP LED OFF WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE
 WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR PHASE I COMMITMENTS BY NON-US WESTERN
 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE COLLECTIVE AMOUNT AND THE TIMING
 OF THEIR PHASE II ARMED FORCE MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. HE ASKED:
 (1) WHETHER IT WAS A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING THAT THE QUESTION
 OF HOW MANY PERSONNEL WOULD BE REDUCED BY EACH PARTICIPANT AND
 WHAT TYPE OF FORCES WOULD BE REDUCED BY EACH PARTICIPANT WOULD
 BE RESOLVED SOLELY AMONG NATO PARTICIPANTS AND NOT ON AN
 EAST/WEST BASIS. (2) IF ALL ISSUES CONCERNING THE SPECIFIC
 SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE REDUCTIONS BY EACH WESTERN DIRECT
 PARTICIPANT WERE TO BE RESOLVED INTERNALLY AMONG THE WESTERN
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ALLIANCE, WHAT WOULD THE MODALITIES OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS WHICH THE WEST SAID COULD BE NEGOTIATED IN PHASE II CONSIST OF?

(3) DID THE WEST ALREADY FORESEE THAT ITS PROPOSAL ENTAILED A POSSIBILITY THAT US AND SOVIET PHASE I REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE ACCORDING TO DETAILED PHASE I COMMITMENTS, WHILE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO CARRY OUT THEIR REDUCTIONS AS THEY THEMSELVES SAW FIT, AND WITHOUT UNDERTAKING SUCH DETAILED OBLIGATIONS. (4) IF SUCH REDUCTIONS WERE CARRIED OUT ACCORDING TO THE DISCRETION OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WHAT THEN WOULD BE THE POINT OF AND THE CONTENT OF CONTINUED PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS?

5. NETHERLANDS REP PRESENTED THE WESTERN POSITION ON ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE EASTERN APPROACH TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WAS INEQUITABLE AND WOULD RESULT IN AN ASYMMETRICAL OUTCOME WHICH WOULD DIMINISH WESTERN SECURITY. THE WESTERN APPROACH TO ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS AVOIDED THE DEFECTS OF THE EASTERN APPROACH AND PROVIDED AN EQUITABLE AND PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO THE TREATMENT OF ARMAMENTS IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT. DRAWING ON CINTINGENCY TALKING POINTS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP, NETHERLANDS REP THEN GAVE PRELIMINARY ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS POSED BY CZECHOSLOVAK REP ON

PHASE I COMMITMENTS BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

6. TARASOV MADE THE POINT THAT IT WAS INACCURATE FOR THE WEST TO ASSERT IN PROPOSING A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT FOR THE WEST EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND CANADA THAT IT WAS MEETING AN EASTERN INTEREST. THE EAST HAD ASKED FOR A REDUCTION COMMITMENT FROM EACH OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. CZECHOSLOVAK REP ASKED WHETHER IT COULD BE ASSUMED FROM THE REPLIES GIVEN BY THE NETHERLANDS REP TO CZECHOSLOVAK REP'S QUESTIONS THAT, ACCORDING TO THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE, IT WAS THEORETICALLY POSSIBLE THAT ONE OF THE WESTERN DIRECT

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PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US COULD SYMBOLICALLY REDUCE ONLY ONE SOLDIER AND NONETHELESS FULFILL THE WESTERN COMMITMENT. WESTERN REPS SAID THIS WAS AN EXTREME CONCLUSION.

7. GDR REP SAID THAT WESTERN CLAIMS OF EASTERN NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY IN MILITARY MANPOWER WAS BASED ONLY ON FLAT ASSERTIONS WITHOUT ANY ACCOMPANYING EVIDENCE. IF THE WEST INTENDED TO ADHERE TO ITS ESTIMATES, IT SHOULD AT LEAST PROVIDE SOME EVIDENCE OR DATA ON WHICH THESE ESTIMATES WERE BASED. PRESUMABLY, THE WEST HAD INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURES SOME SIZEABLE CATEGORIES OF MILITARY EMPLOYEES (SIC) WHICH HAD NOT BEEN ASSIGNED BY THE EAST TO THE ARMED SERVICES. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY SUCH GROUPS OR OTHER SOURCES OF ERROR IN THE WESTERN FIGURES, THE WEST WOULD HAVE TO EXPLAIN ITS ESTIMATES IN GREATER DETAIL

AND SHOW THE EAST WHAT IT HAD INCLUDED IN ITS FIGURES ON EASTERN FORCES. THIS PROCESS WOULD PERMIT THE EAST TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF ERROR IN THE WESTERN FIGURES. GDR REP POINTED OUT THAT WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD IN THE PAST EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO REVIEW THE WESTERN ALLOCATION OF PERSONNEL BETWEEN GROUND AND SECRET

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AIR FORCES, BUT HAD THUS FAR FAILED TO DO SO. NOW THAT THE DATA DISCUSSION HAD ASSUMED A CONCRETE CHARACTER, THE WEST SHOULD FINALLY RESOLVE THE INCONSISTENCIES IN ITS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE.

8. UK REP ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA.
TARASOV THEN ANSWERED DATA QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE US REP IN THE MAY
23 INFORMAL SESSION. HE ALSO REPLIED TO THE WESTERN QUESTIONS OF
APRIL 14 ON THE POLISH PERSONNEL OF THE UNITS OF TERRITORIAL
DEFENSE, SAYING IN EFFECT THAT SOME OF THESE PERSONNEL SERVED
FULL TIME AND OTHERS PART TIME. HE SAID THAT, IN ADDITION TO
EXCLUDING TEMPORARILY-SERVING PERSONNEL OF THE UNITS OF TERRITORIAL
DEFENSE, THE EAST HAD MADE THOSE EXCLUSIONS WHICH EASTERN REPS
HAD EXPLAINED IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS OF 22 FEBRUARY AND OF
MARCH 1, MARCH 15 AND MARCH 29, 1977 (BORDER TROOPS; FORCES
FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNAL SECURITY; POLISH MILITIA;
PERSONNEL FOR THE PROTECTION OF ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS;
AND COASTAL DEFENSE DIVISION). TARASOV THEN COMPLAINED THAT
WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA WERE DRIFTING AWAY FROM THE
SEARCH FOR A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE STRENGTH OF MILITARY MANPOWER

IN THE REDUCTION AREA INTO QUESTIONS OF STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION. THE EAST HAD ANSWERED ALL WESTERN QUESTIONS INCLUDING THOSE OF THE LATTER KIND, BUT HE WISHED TO REMIND THE WEST OF THIS POINT NEVERTHELESS. TARASOV THEN ASKED FOUR QUESTIONS ON DETAILS OF WESTERN DATA WHICH SEEMED INTENDED MAINLY TO PARTIALLY REDRESS THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE LARGE NUMBER OF WESTERN QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA AND THE MUCH LOWER NUMBER OF EASTERN QUESTIONS ON WESTERN DATA.

9. US REP CONCLUDED THE SESSION BY ASKING SIX FURTHER QUESTIONS ON EASTERN DATA. END SUMMARY, RESOR

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